1: Karsten--193 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 585, 535 (1928-29)

"The tobacco feast proper lasts four days. It is preceded by certain ceremonies which have the character of preliminaries but are looked upon as being essential. Among these preliminaries the dance Wuimchi is the most important. It is a ring dance performed by the younger men and boys in which they move round one of the central pillars of the house, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, incessantly mentioning such animals and birds of the forest by name which the Jibaros mostly hunt, as well as details of the industrial arts incumbent on the men. This dance is performed every evening for several hours about eight days before the commencement of the feast, and is supposed to exert a favourable influence upon the household and the industrial art of the Indians. It is regarded as a necessary preliminary of all great feasts of the Indians..."

1: Karsten--196-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
§35 (1928-29)

"In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

l: Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

"When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock, the general feast dance begins which is called Hantsemáta. All take part in it, both hosts and guests, man and women; first of all, however, the latter. The slayer himself goes round and invites the guests to take part in the dance speaking separately to each of them. The dance is conducted by an elderly Indian who previously gives tobacco water to the women. All who are going to take part in it are dressed in the proper way. The women, as usual, wear their rattles of snail shells round the waist. Some of the men put on additional ornaments for the dance--first of all a back ornament made of the bones of the bird tayu (Steatornis), called tayukúnchi, which is adorned with human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed birds of the forest with brilliant plumes.

The face and the uncovered part of the body is carefully painted with red ochre (Bixa orellana), animal figures and figures of snakes as well as geometric ornaments being the most common patterns. The older men prefer to paint themselves black in the face with genipa. Some younger men are seen painting themselves, previous to the dance, with tobacco juice, making with their fingers certain linear ornaments upon the face and breast--ornaments which, however, are hardly visible upon the brownish skin of the Indians. The body-painting with tobacco juice is supposed to be a good prophylactic for witchcraft.

The Hantsemáta, which literally means: 'The killing of the enemy's soul (hantsa).' is a ring dance. The dancers hold each other by the hands and circle around the three

l: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

n elliptical figure, and
central pillars of the house, forming a large ring, or rather st arrange themselves for
moving alternately to the right and to the left. The women fir> of the slayer. Then [341]
the dance, and foremost among them are the wife and daughter s during the dance is
follow the men, and foremost among them the slayer, who thuatsa hanging on his back
standing nearest to his wife and daughter. He carries the tsantand. At the dance the
during the whole time. Next to him the other men take their sha, hopping sideways,
Indians move about in the same way as in the dance Ihiámbrame women hold each other
moving first the one and then the other foot in quick time. Their rattles may sound
under the arms, jumping with both feet at once in order that the Indians change and dance
more loudly. Having moved round for a while to the right, then ied by a chant or con-
to the left for a while, and vice versa. The dance is accompas chant principally con-
juration, and this, too, is first performed by the women. Thi ich is sung by the women
sists of an almost monotonous refrain, 'oá, oá, oa-á-áo, 'etc., wh a disagreeable, almost
in a deep and strong guttural voice, so that the whole song has e men also chant or shout,
dismal, howling effect. When the dance reaches its climax the stasy. Each time the
and the dancers seem sometimes almost to reach a state of ec the house, they stop for
men, during the dance, reach one of the doors at either end of d and shouting in a loud
a moment, hop up and down on the spot, stamping on the groun

voice: 'Hysti, hysti, hysti, hysti!' At the same time the women hop on the spot, sounding their rattles, while the drums are beaten and the flutes played. This procedure is repeated for a long time. The dancers by this action are trying to keep off the spirit of the killed enemy, who, it is believed, is trying to enter through one of the doors to kill the victor.

During the dance certain words and phrases, adapted for the occasion, are also pronounced. Thus the name of the killed enemy is again and again mentioned, as are also the names of his relatives and the name of his native place. Similarly details of the war and of the battle, the lance with which the enemy was killed, or the knife with which his head was cut off, and even the canoe in which the victors went down, etc., are repeatedly mentioned. This dance, with short intervals, is continued until dawn. The men, however, do not take part in the dance the whole time, but sometimes leave the women alone. The latter, who are headed by the priestess, and among whom the wife and daughter of the slayer are the most active, first of all have to take part in the dance. The slayer himself also dances nearly the whole time, with the tsantsa hanging on his back. He is not allowed to sleep during the night.

Whereas even young girls of 8 or 10 years of age take part in the general dance, the half-grown boys seem to be excluded from it. These [342] have another task confided to them. When the older men and women arrange themselves for the dance, the boys

are placed within the ring, and when the dance commences they engage in a savage wrestling match, continually throwing each other to the ground, again rising, again wrestling, etc. This wrestling is continued for about an hour in the same violent manner, but is not repeated later during the night. As to the significance of this wrestling, the Indians only gave the explanation that it is 'part of the feast'. The boys, as a matter of fact, had previously been instructed by an older Indian. The wrestling is thus of a ceremonial nature, and forms part of the general conjurations.

The dance Hantsēmáta is continued without interruption until about 1 o'clock, when there is a short interval. The flesh of the swine slaughtered in the afternoon of the day before has now to be cooked. According to the ritual of the feast, as already mentioned, the flesh of the swine slaughtered at the feast can only be cooked at midnight. On several large fires, made in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed, which are filled with the flesh cut into pieces. During the preparations for the cooking, and while the flesh is being boiled, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued with more vigour than before, all men and women who are not tending the fires being engaged in it. Likewise some hens are killed and their flesh is boiled. The Indian who conducts the dance is seen dancing for a while with two or three recently killed hens tied round his waist. The dance is supposed to hurry on the cooking of the flesh, and probably also to exert a favourable influence upon the increase of the domestic animals in future. As soon as

the flesh is suffic sufficiently cooked, the pots are taken off the fires and lifted up on the shelves to be pre preserved until morning. It is not until then that the flesh can be eaten.

The dance is then continued without interruption until the morning, being performed particularly by the women have to tal by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and around the centre to take part in it just as in the beginning. Having moved several times by the hands, and central pillars, all rush out from the house, continuing to hold each other the ceremonies as, and run down to the river, where they take the usual bath. With this bath nies of that night are finished."

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bolletino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

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soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsentsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "blowing" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsentsa heads are also held over the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsentsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakanú*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's breath. Breathing in therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is present during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[9]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

[illegible] cane,
[illegible] necklaced bands (tentetones), with neck and arm bands made
[illegible] of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear
[illegible] richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of
[illegible] which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is
[illegible] produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is per-
formed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name
of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm
aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a
pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody serious-
ness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept
off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to
decay -- miles after some time another family moves in and
undertakes the repairs.

116. A house must be deserted after a death, just as
after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience
of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying
hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A
small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby,
and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important
decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and
their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude
of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous
lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a
command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is
chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems
to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians.
And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful
spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set
upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is
continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes
are spewed out with a thunder like noise, accompanied at night
by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to
the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down
the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
961 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakaruma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
• 535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jivaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tayamaia*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete. When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

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527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hansemata*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group [273] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when [535] a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his [251] wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, [273] and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect- [235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand. [273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested [752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for 534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the 535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin 527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around [373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night 533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance 535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint, 527

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each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hansemata* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

While such *hansemata* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are interwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [535] [439] [764]

796 571 554 765 The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*ũaimči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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578
765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
796 of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
[774] immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[778] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been
[554] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[624] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[562] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
765 by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a
796 basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
727 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
[619] safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
[571] the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
[181] feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
[533] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[535] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[539] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.